



**THE REINDEER BOTANIST:
ALF ERLING PORSILD, 1901–1977**

by Wendy Dathan

ISBN 978-1-55238-587-6

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EPILOGUE

CLOSING THE CIRCLE

Nine years before Erling Porsild retired in 1967, Bassett Maguire at the New York Botanical Gardens said that for thirty years A. E. Porsild, Chief Botanist of the National Herbarium of Canada, had been “the outstanding field investigator of boreal American vegetation” and had unquestionably “contributed more to the botany of boreal America than any other botanist now living.” In what was to be the last decade of his life, Erling could justifiably wear that mantle of botanical achievement. He had earned it.¹

James Soper was appointed as Chief Botanist of the National Herbarium in 1967, and George Argus joined the staff in 1972. Erling was awarded the status of Curator Emeritus and given two small offices, free run of the Herbarium and the National Museum Library as well as access to secretarial services. Soper, who readily recognized that Erling Porsild’s major contribution to the Herbarium had been in its growth and world-wide recognition as a valuable resource centre for the study of Arctic Botany, said: “He never interfered with my administration of the Botany Division, and I rarely, if ever, approached him for advice on such matters. Throughout his career he abhorred administrative duties and did only the minimum, considering this as an unwelcome, if necessary, distraction from the serious work of carrying out research.”²

Although his health and strength were noticeably failing in those last years at the herbarium, Erling continued to work on the Rocky Mountain, Yukon, and Northwest Territories manuscripts as well as other papers, of which another dozen, alone or in partnership with others, were published in his lifetime. His friendly relationship with William J. (Bill) Cody, Curator of the Vascular Plant Herbarium at the Department of Agriculture from 1946 to 1988, was remarkable for the rise of helpful understanding that had begun to exist between

that department and the National Herbarium after the bitter territorial feuds of the earlier years. Erling was particularly interested in Cody's extensive field work in the northwest, including his collection of plants around Reindeer Station in 1957 and again in 1963 to determine the effects of reindeer grazing. In 1966, they began to combine efforts to produce a 102-page "Checklist of the vascular plants of the Continental Northwest," published by the Plant Research Institute of Agriculture Canada in 1968. A lengthened version of the checklist, 667 pages, "Vascular plants of the Continental Northwest Territories," co-authored with Cody and published by the National Museum in 1980, was Erling's last major work. In the end, one hundred and twenty-eight publications in all would be credited to Erling Porsild, a sure sign of his towering presence in the field of Arctic and subarctic Botany and the natural sciences over all his years in Canada.

Honours began to pour in after his retirement. In 1971, the Ottawa Field-Naturalists gave him an honorary membership for his many contributions to the Club, the Botanical Society of America gave him the annual Merit Award, and the Canadian Botanical Association presented him with the Lawson Medal for notable contributions to the advancement of Canadian Botany. He received an honorary Doctor of Science degree from Acadia University in Nova Scotia in 1967 and another from the University of Waterloo in Ontario in 1973, in recognition of his remarkable achievements in the field of Canadian Science.³

His death came unexpectedly in 1977. He and Margrit were on holiday in Vienna when he died suddenly on November 13. According to one of his memorial tributes, a small private funeral service was held for him in Vienna, after which he was cremated and his ashes prepared for burial on Disko Island.

Loris Russell paid his respects on behalf of the National Museum and the Royal Society of Canada. "Porsild was one of the last of those scientific explorers who laid the foundation of our knowledge of the Canadian Arctic and its plants, its animals, and its human inhabitants," he said, and under his direction "the National Herbarium collection had almost quadrupled in number of specimens, and had expanded notably into the field of non-vascular plants."⁴

T. J. Wood wrote that it was proper that the Arctic Circle pay tribute to the memory of one of its founders, who was also its first president and a long time member. "A. E. Porsild was my friend – a friendship spanning fifty years," he said. "We shared a common interest in things pertaining to the Canadian North, and had long discussions on its future, especially that of its people. There were times of grief and those of joy.... An often recurring picture is that

of him sitting writing at his desk turning out splendidly composed paragraphs on all manner of subjects; or, of him sitting at ease, smoking his pipe, and discoursing in gently-modulated tone of voice – with many a chuckle – on almost any subject imaginable, except religion. He is to me a memorable personality and now greatly missed.”⁵

Hugh Raup quietly recalled how Erling had enlarged the National Herbarium and made it into a superb research tool, as well as producing the stream of publications based on his studies of the boreal American flora. “He was well known and highly respected among biologists in both America and Europe. His research was meticulous, and rested solidly upon a clear understanding of the materials he worked with and of the theoretical concepts within which he operated. He made major contributions to knowledge not only in the taxonomy of boreal American plants but also in their geographic and circumpolar relationships.” As one of his oldest friends, Raup would remember Erling as “a quiet man, shy and unassuming,” yet he could also say:

He went through life with what amounted to a rollicking, though curiously muted, sense of humour. He was an inspired raconteur, and his tales were nearly always built around amusing incidents. He had a keen sense of the ridiculous in the human foibles he came across, including his own, and enough respect for the imagination of his listeners to describe a situation in the fewest possible words and then leave them to see the humour of it in their own way. His life was a saga of unique experiences and accomplishments – an inspiration to all those who have faith in the capacities of an individual human mind that guides its possessor’s energies with imagination, tolerance and taste.⁶

On 30 December 1977, six weeks after Erling’s death in Vienna, Bob Porsild died in his sleep at his home in Whitehorse. The funeral service was held in the Trinity Lutheran Church where he and Elly had been among the founding members. In an article repeated in both the *Whitehorse Star* and the *Yukon News*, reporter Flo Whyard said: “A giant of a man, in more ways than one, is how Bob Porsild appeared to many Yukoners, and his death at 79 last Friday in Whitehorse has removed from the daily scene one of those quiet pioneers who helped to build this country.” He left behind, in Yukon and Alberta, his widow Elly, three daughters (Betty Seaborn, Ellen Davignon, and Jo Brown), one son Aksel, eleven grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.⁷

Elly wrote to Richard Finnie to tell him that Bob “hadn’t been sick as such, but he was very tired and he never got over the death of his dear brother; they had so much in common in their love for nature and plants.” Margrit also wrote to him, saying that she knew how long his friendship went back with both Bob and Erling. “How strange that Bob died so soon after Erling... Maybe you could write something about the two brothers.” In Finnie’s later article about “The Polar Porsilds,” he remembered all the pleasant visits he had had with both brothers and their families over the years. “As generous, warm-hearted hosts serving good food and drink in their homes, the brothers would joke and tell stories in their Danish-accented English about colourful characters and incidents in the North and elsewhere.” Unlike Erling, Bob had never had any honours heaped on him except local ones, he said, but ironically, after his death, Elly received a Queen’s Jubilee Medal that had been awarded to him “as an expression of appreciation of worthy and devoted service rendered and of the esteem in which he was held by his associates.” Elly remarked: “Bob would have loved it – the only one he ever got.”⁸

It was left to Áskell Löve to write lyrically, as he closed the circle of the Porsilds’ lives: “When the nightless summer returned this spring to their beloved northlands, the ashes of the two great travelling brothers at last joined the arctic ecosystem of their youth in the family plot on Disko Island, where the sun shines all summer long and the northern lights pirouette during the arctic nights into vast eternity.” In his memorial tribute to the younger Porsild brother, Löve said that the importance of the works of great men was not easily appreciated by their contemporaries, but he felt that, in the future tribunal of scientific contributions, Erling Porsild would fare well. Meanwhile, they were

... allowed to admire his tremendous energy as exposed in his great plant collections; his profound learning and unusually sharp floristic eye as manifested in his essential works on the phytogeography of arctic-alpine regions in the Northern Hemisphere; his solid treatment of various entities of the arctic flora that he either was the first to describe or the last to rearrange on basis of new and brilliant observations; and especially his perseverance and literary skill that is mirrored in his many publications which place him among the most productive of Canadian and North American botanists and as one of the few all-time leaders in arctic botanical exploration.⁹

In spite of all the glowing tributes at the time of Erling Porsild's death, it is not a Canadian tradition, as Lester Pearson remarked of his friend Skelton in External Affairs, to create posthumous heroes of men of unsensational merit, especially influential men who were still relatively unknown in the popular domain because they had worked behind the scenes to follow their ideals and conscience with the utmost dedication to a larger cause. Despite Erling's brief bursts into fame with his wartime return from Greenland and his very public dispute with Farley Mowat, despite his solid reputation among his scientific peers, it would not be long before the world would tend to leave him behind to become largely a forgotten man like his father before him. At the time of his retirement, he was already considered old-fashioned by the up and coming young scientists. Even his herbarium, with its emphasis on big expeditions into the field and huge collections in storage, was becoming questionably passé in a North America where most of the vegetation was now known, so that other kinds of specialists were taking the place of the last botanical explorers of whom Erling was unquestionably one of the giants.

By the turn of the twenty-first century, in the reindeer field he would be remembered, if he was remembered at all, as part of the half-forgotten, half-misrecalled history of yet another failed northern scheme by the Canadian Government that had not properly involved the First Nations people, and so he would not likely be given credit where credit was due. In the field of Botany, for a younger generation, perhaps he would be most remembered as being the man who gathered "all that boreal hay" for the National Herbarium, although he would still be known and respected for his flora of the Arctic Archipelago and his impressive reference work with Bill Cody on the "Vascular plants of the Continental Northwest Territories," published in 1980 after his death. But perhaps the time is dawning for a new appreciation of what he accomplished in his lifetime to come up for our re-assessment. Appropriately, the Canadian Botanical Association has created the "Alf Erling Porsild Award" in his memory, "awarded in recognition of the best paper published in the field of systematics and phytogeography that year by a graduate student in a Canadian university or a Canadian student in a foreign university." With our new awareness of what is happening in the north with glacial warming, we might want to re-examine his detailed phytogeographical information with a new eye as to what has changed and is changing in his land of the midnight sun.

Looking back at the symbolic return to Greenland of Erling Porsild's ashes, it is not hard to see that it marked the end of a half-century journey that for him

had been difficult physically, emotionally, and professionally, but had at last brought him the rewards he so truly deserved. He had never stopped working to fulfil his own and his father's ambitions to make a name for himself in the botanical field. He had done his best to make the northern reindeer developmental experiment a success even if it had failed to achieve its potential due to factors largely beyond his control. He had believed in and worked hard for the cause of northern science while diligently seeking to understand the flora of that vast and challenging land above and below the Arctic Circle, from Greenland to Boreal Canada to Alaska, not only in order to identify and classify it taxonomically but to work out the larger questions of origin and migration patterns. He had consistently sought to raise the awareness and standards of Botany in Canada and promote Canada's achievements to the world. He had been a reliable consultant and participant in numerous scientific activities in the Canadian north, and he had won the approval of the British Empire for his important wartime contributions to his adopted country and his distinguished service thereafter.

Young Erling Porsild of Disko Island, who had gone to Canada all those years ago, had done very well indeed. He could, at last, rest in peace.



NOTES

CHAPTER ONE.

GREENLAND BEGINNINGS.

- 1 Family information in this chapter was acquired by sources quoted below, plus personal interview with Erling Porsild's daughter Karin Lumsden and telephone conversation with brother Sten Porsild in Denmark, while long-time friend and consular colleague Trevor Lloyd supplied the legendary boyhood stories.
- 2 E. Stefansson, 1945, *Within the Circle*, pp. 36–37.
- 3 T. J. Wood, 1978, *Porsild – An Appreciation*; see also Peter Freuchen, 1964, *Book of the Eskimos*, and AEP, 1948, *Greenland at the Crossroads*, concerning restrictions for entering Greenland.
- 4 F. De Laguna, 1977, *Voyage to Greenland*. The writer was incorrect in naming the Porsild son as Erling, who was in Ottawa at that time. The son she met was Robert Porsild, visiting his parents while on leave from the Canadian Reindeer Project.
- 5 Craig et al., 1927, *Canada's Arctic Islands*.
- 6 See MPP and AEP, 1920, *Flora of Disko Island*, for visiting scientists and research activities at the station; see also Tempelman-Kluit, 1977, *From Five Cents a Plant*, for story of boys' collections.
- 7 MPP to M. L. Fernald, 1 June 1922, NHF. First part of long letter to Professor Fernald at Harvard University regarding his son Erling's qualifications quoted at length throughout this chapter.
- 8 A. Löve, 1978, *Porsild in Memoriam*.
- 9 A. C. Seward, Undated. Letter of recommendation, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:450.
- 10 MOM to MPP, 19 July 1922, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:450.
- 11 C. H. Ostenfeld to MOM, 29 March 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.

CHAPTER TWO.

MALTE AND THE NATIONAL HERBARIUM.

- 1 R. M. Anderson to Francis Harper, 26 Feb 1920, PAC/NHC, RG 132:25.

- 2 For description of herbarium problems, see MOM to F. J. Lewis, 8 May 1924, NHF, and MOM to Chas. Camsell, Deputy Minister, Dept. of Mines, 20 Dec 1924, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:332.
- 3 MOM, 5 Jan 1926, Memorandum on the Botanical Work of the Geological Survey and the Museum Branch of the Dominion Department of Mines, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:435.
- 4 MOM to R. B. Thomson, 18 July 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:34:490; see also MOM, 29 April 1925, re: applicants for position of student-assistant to Chief Botanist, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:435.
- 5 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 2 Feb 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 6 For warning re: introduction of reindeer herding, see S. T. Wood to OSF, 1 Dec 1922; for overview of situation, see D. Jenness, 1964, *Eskimo Administration*; see also Maxwell Graham, 11 Aug 1925, Statement regarding the Reindeer Industry and its possibilities in Northern Canada, with special reference to the Northwest Territories, PAC/CRP.
- 7 W. W. Cory to OSF, 28 Jan 1926, and OSF to R. A. Gibson, 17 Feb 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 8 Maxwell Graham, 4 March 1926, Memorandum for Fyle, Dept. of the Interior, NWT and Yukon Branch, PAC/CRP.
- 9 MOM to J. M. Coulter, 3 March 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449, and W. T. MacClement to MOM, 8 March 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:25.
- 3 For official reaction to AEP's letter, see OSF to AEP, 3 April 1926, OSF to R. A. Gibson, 19 April 1926, and L. D. Baldwin to W. W. Cory, 22 April 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 4 For the role of Anderson and Stefansson in the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913–18, see Wm. L. McKinley, 1976, *Karluk, the Great Untold Story of Arctic Exploration*; for letter of sympathy after death of her husband, see AEP to Mrs. Evelyn Stefansson, 27 Aug 1962, PAC/NHC, RG 132:34:483.
- 5 For RTP reaction, see Iris Warner collection, 1973–74, Yukon Archives, rough copy of article on CRP, undated and corrected by RTP; see also MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 7 May 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 6 R. M. Anderson to MPP, 25 June 1926, NHF.
- 7 MOM to W. H. Collins, 20 April 1926, and W. H. Collins to W. W. Cory, 22 April 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:435.
- 8 MOM to AEP, 18 May 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 9 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 7 May 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 10 OSF to AEP and RTP, 19 May 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 11 S. Hadwen to OSF, 26 June 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 12 E. W. Nelson to L. J. Palmer, 6 May 1926, PAC/CRP.

CHAPTER THREE.

CALL OF THE NORTHWEST.

- 1 MOM to AEP, 23 March 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 2 AEP to MOM, 25 March 1926, private letter in Danish and official letter in English, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.

CHAPTER FOUR.

IN SEARCH OF REINDEER.

- 1 Erling Porsild kept a field journal from 1926 to 1928. All quotes, descriptions, and activities in this and the remaining chapters in Part One can be assumed to come from this source, accessed by date, unless otherwise cited.
- 2 AEP, 1942, Reindeer/Caribou Grazing in Canada. Re: reindeer/caribou

- taxonomy, see A.W.F. Banfield, 1961, *Revision of Reindeer and Caribou*. See also Hadwen and Palmer, 1922, *Reindeer in Alaska*, pp. 5–6.
- 3 J. A. Luick, 1973, Cantwell Reindeer Industry; see also AEP, 1929, Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada, p. 9.
 - 4 AEP to OSF, “June” 1926, PAC/CRP.
 - 5 AEP to MOM, undated, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
 - 6 AEP to R. A. Gibson, 16 April 1946, re: memo on L. J. Palmer’s study of the Alaska tundra with reference to its reactions to reindeer and other grazing. PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:439.
 - 7 AEP, 1929, Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada, p. 10.
 - 8 For position of U.S. Biological Survey and readings on Alaskan herders’ protests, see Hadwen and Palmer, 1922, *Reindeer in Alaska*; Palmer, 1926, *Progress of Grazing Investigations*; Lantis, 1950, “The Reindeer Industry in Alaska,” Stern, 1980, *I Used to Have Reindeers*; Stern et al., 1980, *Eskimos, Reindeer and Land*. See also B. B. Mozee collection, M6 A4, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.
 - 9 AEP to OSF, 8 Aug 1926, PAC/CRP.
 - 10 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 14 Dec 1926, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
 - 11 AEP to OSF, 8 Aug 1926, PAC/CRP.
 - 5 AEP to MOM, 18 Aug 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
 - 6 AEP to OSF, 30 Sept 1926, PAC/CRP.
 - 7 AEP to MOM, “September” 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
 - 8 AEP to MOM, 12 Dec 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
 - 9 AEP to OSF, 2 Dec 1926, PAC/CRP.
 - 10 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 16 March 1927, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
 - 11 Ernest de K. Leffingwell, 1919, *The Canning River Region*.
 - 12 AEP to OSF, 2 Dec 1926, PAC/CRP.
 - 13 For official approval of the first season of studying reindeer in Alaska, see OSF to W. W. Cory, 17 Feb 1927; Leonard D. Baldwin to W. W. Cory, 30 Oct 1926; and W. W. Cory to Leonard D. Baldwin, 2 Nov 1926, PAC/CRP.

CHAPTER SIX.

COASTAL ALASKA BY DOGSLED.

CHAPTER FIVE.

LITTLE DIOMEDE TO KOTZEBUE SOUND.

- 1 AEP to OSF, 8 Aug 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 2 See later edition, D. Jenness, 1959, *The People of the Twilight*. For AEP appraisal, see AEP to R. W. Wood and wife, 16 June 1958, re: gift of first edition.
- 3 AEP, 1938, Flora of Little Diomed Island.
- 4 D. Jenness, 1929, *Diomed Islands*.
- 5 AEP to MOM, 18 Aug 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 6 AEP to OSF, 30 Sept 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 7 AEP to MOM, “September” 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 8 AEP to MOM, 12 Dec 1926, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 9 AEP to OSF, 2 Dec 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 10 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 16 March 1927, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 11 Ernest de K. Leffingwell, 1919, *The Canning River Region*.
- 12 AEP to OSF, 2 Dec 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 13 For official approval of the first season of studying reindeer in Alaska, see OSF to W. W. Cory, 17 Feb 1927; Leonard D. Baldwin to W. W. Cory, 30 Oct 1926; and W. W. Cory to Leonard D. Baldwin, 2 Nov 1926, PAC/CRP.
- 1 For commentary on Kleinschmidt’s “improvement” of Eskimo language, and connection with Leffingwell whose expedition Stefansson had been hired to join, and Archdeacon Stuck who escorted Stefansson to hospital at the end of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, see V. Stefansson, 1964, *Discovery: The Autobiography of Vilhjalmur Stefansson*.
- 2 Re: RTP quote, see Iris Warner collection, 1973–74, MS:B247, Yukon Archives.
- 3 Commonest large dextral shells in Arctic (up to 15 cm) are the whelks, family Buccinidae.
- 4 J. Taliaferro, 2006, In a Far Country: The Story of a Mission, a Marriage, a Murder, and the Remarkable Reindeer Rescue of 1898.
- 5 AEP, 1929, Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada, p. 14.

- 6 Ernest de K. Leffingwell, 1919, *The Canning River Region*.
- 7 AEP to OSF, 26 June 1927, PAC/CRP.

CHAPTER SEVEN.
TRAVELLING ALONE: AN ACCIDENT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

- 1 Ernest de K. Leffingwell, 1919, *The Canning River Region*.
- 2 See R. M. Anderson, Report on the Natural History Collections of the Expedition in V. Stefansson, 1913, *My Life with the Eskimo*, pp. 436–527.
- 3 See J. R. Mackay, 1963, *Mackenzie Delta Area*.
- 4 For estimated decimation of area game by hunters supplying whaling ships 1897–1910 and subsequent lack to mid-century, see Martel et al., 1984, *Wildlife of the Mackenzie Delta Region*.
- 5 AEP to OSF, 25 Jan 1927, PAC/CRP.

CHAPTER EIGHT.
MAIL TIME IN AKLAVIK.

- 1 OSF to AEP, 27 June 1927, and AEP to OSF, 29 June 1927, PAC/CRP.
- 2 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 11 July 1927, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 3 AEP to OSF, 25 June 1927, PAC/CRP.
- 4 MOM to AEP, 7 April 1927 and 6 June 1927, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 5 AEP to MOM, 15 July 1927, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 6 MOM to W. R. Watson, 28 Oct 1927, PAC/NHC, RG 132:35:497.
- 7 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 2 Dec 1927, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 8 C. H. Ostenfeld to MOM, 3 Jan 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.

CHAPTER NINE.
SCHOONER TRAVEL ON THE ARCTIC COAST.

- 1 According to McPhail and Lindsey, 1970, *Freshwater Fishes of Northwestern Canada and Alaska*, arctic char was fished extensively by Inuvialuit along Arctic coast using handlines, jigs, spears, gillnets, and traps.
- 2 AEP to OSF, 15 Nov 1927, Preliminary Report on Field Work of the Summer of 1927, PAC/CRP.SCH
- 3 Bishop Stringer's collection was recorded by J. M. Macoun and Holm, 1921, *Vascular Plants*.
- 4 For story of floating iceberg expedition, see V. Stefansson, 1964, *Discovery*.
- 5 For first published use of term 'pingo,' see AEP, 1929, *Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada*, p. 32. For formal introduction of term, see AEP, 1938, *Earth Mounds in unglaciated arctic northwestern America*. See also, R. M. Anderson, 1917, Preliminary list of specimens collected by the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1914–16.

CHAPTER TEN.
RETURN TO AKLAVIK.

- 1 The journal gives no detail of the kind of evidence the Porsilds found that would indicate the site of an igloo 23–24 years after it had been used.
- 2 For difficulties of travelling along this shallow, stormy coast, and near-shipwreck of over-loaded *Bonnie Belle* one year later, see Metayer, 1966, *I, Nuligak*, pp. 165–66.
- 3 AEP to OSF, 13 Sept 1927, PAC/CRP.
- 4 Note the inordinate amount of time spent fishing in order to feed the dogs. For Arctic cisco, *Coregonius autumnalis*, the most important fish for dogfood at Aklavik, see McPhail and Lindsey, 1970, *Freshwater Fishes of Northwestern Canada and Alaska*.

CHAPTER ELEVEN.
COMPLETING THE 1927
RECONNAISSANCE.

- 1 AEP to OSF, 15 Nov 1927. See also Presnall, 1943, *Reindeer: Indian Service to War*, for caution re: short study of arctic lichen ranges in comparison to slow lichen growth cycle; quotes Palmer's new estimate 50–100 year recovery on badly over-grazed ranges and stresses need for ultra-conservative practices.
- 2 OSF to W. W. Cory, 14 Sept 1927; OSF to R. A. Gibson, 23 April 1928, PAC/CRP.
- 3 OSF to J. P. Richards, 30 Nov 1927; AEP to OSF, 1 Dec 1927, PAC/CRP.
- 4 See AEP, 1945, *Mammals of Mackenzie Delta*. Coyote killed on Arctic coast 1927 was new to the delta and unknown to Inuvialuit although common at Arctic Red River and Fort Norman. Skin/skull in Nat. Mus.
- 5 AEP, 1938, *Earth Mounds in Unglaciaded Arctic Northwestern America*, pp. 54–55, mentions visit to this pingo as noted in 1927 in his journal. His 'Midway Island' was Hendrickson Island. Fresh water in pingos much used by Inuvialuit.

CHAPTER TWELVE.
LOOKING BACK AND FORWARD.

- 1 AEP to MOM, 16 Jan 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 2 AEP to MOM, 3 Feb 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 3 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 25 Jan 1928; C. H. Ostenfeld to MOM, 3 Jan 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441. See also Grøtved, 1936, *Vascular Plants: Fifth Thule Expedition*, re: collectors Knud Rasmussen, Peter Freuchen, Therkel Mathiassen, Kaj Birket-Smith, Helge Bangsted and Jacob Olsen as having few field notes, lacking information, difficulty with plant collection/

preservation on Arctic expeditions, and only 1,600 specimens.

- 4 See AEP to OSF, 18 April 1927, PAC/CRP, for response to query concerning Dominion Reindeer Company; see also OSF to W. H. Collins, 14 May 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:23:364, and W. H. Collins to MOM, 22 June 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:435, for Hudson Bay grazing potential questions.
- 5 See Machado, 1922, *Dr. Grenfell's Reindeer Experiment in Labrador*; Parker, 1922, Report on Grenfell herd at Lobster Bay; and official correspondence 1923–39 re: herd placed on Anticosti Island, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:460.
- 6 See Hedlin, 1961, Reindeer for the North; Inglis, 1969, *And Then There Were None*.
- 7 For readings on the Baffin Island experiment, see Diubaldo, 1978, *Stefansson and the Canadian Arctic*; Stefansson, 1964, *Discovery*; Jenness, 1964, *Eskimo Administration*; Scotter, 1969, *Reindeer Husbandry as Land Use*; and Richard S. Finnie, 16 June 1947, semi-final draft of reindeer article sent to AEP for editing, Porsild collection, ROM.
- 8 Rutherford et al., 1922, Report of the Royal Commission to investigate the possibilities of the reindeer and musk-ox industries in the arctic and sub-arctic regions of Canada.
- 9 OSF to AEP, 1 Feb 1928; AEP to OSF, 4 Feb 1928; OSF to AEP, 14 Feb 1928, PAC/CRP.
- 10 Hansard, 6 June 1928, pp. 4007–8.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN.
WINTER TRAIL TO GREAT BEAR LAKE.

- 1 RTP to R. M. Anderson, 8 Feb 1928, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 2 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 15 Jan 1928, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.

- 3 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 3 Feb 1928, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 4 AEP, 1929, *Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada*, p. 21. See also Scott and Grossman, 1973, *Freshwater Fishes of Canada*, re: herring at Fort Franklin not marine herring (*Clupea harengus*) but Cisco Lake Herring, *Coregonus artedii* complex, 8–12" long and able to live for 13 years in Great Bear Lake.
- 5 AEP to OSF, 13 April 1928, PAC/CRP.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN.

DEASE ARM AND THE NORTHEAST BARRENS.

- 1 See Houston, 1984, *Arctic Ordeal*, p. 219, re: Richardson's mapping of 450 miles of north shoreline by canoe last three weeks of August 1825 and of south shoreline to Richardson Island by ice sled, 10–23 April 1826.
- 2 For history of Fort Confidence, see standard works on Hudson's Bay Company, plus Thomas Simpson, 1843, *Narrative of the discoveries on the north coast of America*; Houston, 1984, *Arctic Ordeal*; David Hanbury, 1904, *Sport and travel in the northland of Canada*; Stefansson, 1913, *My Life with the Eskimo*; and George Douglas, 1914, *Lands Forlorn*.
- 3 George Whalley, 1962, *Legend of John Hornby*.
- 4 AEP, 1929, *Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada*, p. 21.
- 5 Ibid.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN.

CHANGING TIDES AND SEASONS.

- 1 For the results of experiment, see AEP, 1932, *Notes on Seiches and Currents in Great Bear Lake*.
- 2 See G. Douglas, 1914, *Lands Forlorn*.
- 3 E. A. Preble, 1908, Biological Investigation of the Mackenzie-Athabaska Region.

- 4 Ernest de K. Leffingwell, 1919, *The Canning River Region*.
- 5 AEP, 1929, *Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada*, pp. 26–27.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN.

OF ICE AND "FLIES" AND MISERABLE DOGS.

- 1 J. M. Bell, 1902, Topography/Geology Great Bear Lake.
- 2 AEP, 1929, *Reindeer Grazing in Northwest Canada*.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN.

MCTAVISH ARM AND CONJUROR BAY.

- 1 AEP to George Douglas, 27 Oct 1953, NHF.
- 2 See H. Robertson, 1984, *Gentleman Adventurer*, re: Bonnycastle going north on *Distributor* and meeting RTP Fort Norman 1 July 1928; also reported 35 dead Fort Simpson, 23 Fort McPherson, 13 Aklavik, 7 Shingle Point, 1 Whitefish Station; toll of more than 300 Indians reported by Bishop Fleming.
- 3 See Powell-Williams, 2002, *Cold Burial*, re: anxiety of Douglas and Stefansson, pp. 234–35, and OSF letter to Fort Reliance and report filed at Chesterfield Inlet, p. 236.
- 4 RTP quote in Iris Warner collection, 1973–74, MS:B247, Yukon Archives, Whitehorse.
- 5 J. M. Bell, 1902, Topography/Geology Great Bear Lake.
- 6 See F. Watt, 1980, *Great Bear Remembered*, for Labine/Dickens flight 1929, Eldorado strike/claims Echo Bay 1930 to Port Radium 1932. See also R. Finnie, 1942, *Canada Moves North*, for build-up activity/air exploration; and Miggs Wynne Morris, 2000, *Return to the Drum*, for effect of radiative exposure on the Sahtu'ine 1932–60.

- 7 See Johnson, 1975, *Great Bear Lake in History*, p. 239.
- 8 D. Jenness, 1932, *The Indians of Canada*.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN.
END OF THE INVESTIGATION.

- 1 C. Osgood, 1931, *Ethnography of the Great Bear Lake Indians*.
- 2 See F. Watt, 1980, *Great Bear Lake Remembered*, and V. Stefansson, 1913, *My Life with the Eskimo*.
- 3 AEP to George Douglas, 27 Oct 1953, NHF.
- 4 See E. Taylor, 1985, *A Woman in the Mackenzie Delta, 1894–1895*.
- 5 A. L. Fleming, 1957, *Archibald the Arctic: Archibald Lang Fleming The First Bishop of the Arctic*.
- 6 The Raups and Erling Persild were to become close, life-long friends and colleagues. See correspondence AEP/Raup 1935–1977, NHF and PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.

CHAPTER NINETEEN.
RESULTS OF THE SURVEY.

- 1 RTP, Iris Warner Collection, 1973–74, MS:B247, Yukon Archives, Whitehorse. See also Davignon, 1988, *The Cinnamon Mine*, for story of courtship.
- 2 C. H. Ostenfeld to MOM, 1 Nov 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441; MOM to Frère Marie-Victorin, 11 May 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132, vol. 19.
- 3 MOM to W. H. Collins, 3 Nov 1928, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:435.
- 4 AEP to OSF, 31 Oct 1928, PAC/CRP.
- 5 AEP to OSF, 7 Jan 1929, PAC/CRP.
- 6 Purchase agreement with Lomen Reindeer Corp. 8 May 1929, LFP:48:692.
- 7 AEP to OSF, 7 Jan 1929, PAC/CRP.
- 8 Ibid.

- 9 AEP to OSF, 31 Oct 1928, PAC/CRP.
- 10 For Lomen family's ongoing suspicion of AEP, see L. D. Baldwin to R. Lomen, 21 June 1929, and [R. Lomen] to C. J. Lomen, 31 Aug 1934, LFP:48:692.
- 11 L. J. Palmer to AEP, 5 Feb 1929, PAC/CRP.
- 12 OSF to W. W. Cory, 18 Dec 1928, PAC/CRP.
- 13 Purchase agreement, 8 May 1929, LFP:48:692.

CHAPTER TWENTY.
“THE BEST LAID PLANS.”

- 1 MOM to Watson, 13 May 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:35:497.
- 2 Wyatt Malcolm to MOM, 2 May 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 3 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 13 May 1929 and 19 May 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 4 C. H. Ostenfeld to MOM, 3 June 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 5 MOM to Watson, 11 Oct 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:35:497.
- 6 AEP to R. A. Gibson, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:461.
- 7 AEP to MOM, 26 Oct 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 8 See Davignon, 1988, *The Cinnamon Mine*, for family background of Asta Koefoed Hansen.
- 9 AEP to MOM, 26 Oct 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 10 MOM to Selim Birger, 5 Feb 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:19.
- 11 See AEP, 1936, *The Reindeer Industry and the Canadian Eskimo*, p. 12, and AEP typed copy of journal, June–July 1931, Introduction to Trip to Sweden and Norway to engage Laps for Reindeer Station, NHF; re: AEP attitude to drive organization.

- 12 AEP to MOM, 26 Oct 1929, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 13 A. Bahr to D. E. Crowley, 16 Dec 1929, LFP:48:692; see also Bahr/Lomen Reindeer Corporation contract, 6 July 1929, LFP:48:692.
- 14 For early drive difficulties, see A. Bahr to A. J. Lomen, 15 Jan 1930; A. J. Lomen to A. Bahr, 30 Jan 1930; D. E. Crowley to Lomen Reindeer Corp., 16 Jan 1930; and W. B. Miller to L. J. Palmer, 26 Feb 1930, for memo re: Alaskan Reindeer for North Canadian Rangelands. LFP:48:692.
- 15 AEP, typed copy of journal, June–July 1931, Introduction to Trip to Sweden and Norway to engage Laps for Reindeer Station, ROM.
- 16 C. H. Ostenfeld to MOM, 10 Jan 1930, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 17 MOM to C. H. Ostenfeld, 1 Feb and 20 March 1930, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 18 C. H. Ostenfeld to MOM, 26 March 1930, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 19 A. Bahr to A. J. Lomen, 22 March 1930; Warren Ferguson to Lomen Bros., 29 June 1930, LFP:48:692.
- 20 See Robertson, 1984, *Gentleman Adventurer*, pp. 112–14, for Bonnycastle's account of downed plane episode.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE.
FIELD REPORTS, 1930.

- 1 National Herbarium Field Work 1930, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 2 MOM, Memo re: special leave, 15 Jan 1930, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:436.
- 3 National Herbarium Field Work 1930, and MOM to Ralph Parsons, 26 June 1930, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:443.
- 4 AEP, 1936, *Reindeer Industry and the Canadian Eskimo*; see also marginal notations, AEP, ROM, for Tyrell, 1894, Doobaunt, Kazan, Ferguson Rivers,

and Birket-Smith, Geogr. Notes on Barren Grounds.

- 5 AEP to W. Hobbs, 12 May 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:25:393.
- 6 AEP, 1936, *Reindeer Industry and the Canadian Eskimo*, pp. 7–11; see also National Photography Collection, PAC:PA 101016-7, Starving Eskimo woman and girl, and PAC:PA 101018, AEP giving out emergency rations, Kazan R., Keewatin District, NWT 1930.
- 7 E. Davignon, 1988, *The Cinnamon Mine*.
- 8 E. Porsild, 1981, "Excitement of First Year," *Yukon News*, 21 Oct.
- 9 RTP to R. M. Anderson, 20 Nov 1930, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 10 E. Porsild, 1981, "Excitement of First Year," *Yukon News*, 21 Oct.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO.
SAD NEWS AND SUMMER IN
SCANDINAVIA.

- 1 SGD. Carl Christensen to MOM, 19 Jan 1931, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 2 MOM to Mrs. Ostenfeld, 24 Feb 1931, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 3 Mrs. Ostenfeld to W. H. Collins, 5 Dec 1931; W. H. Collins to Mrs. Ostenfeld, 7 March 1934, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 4 MOM to Mrs. Ostenfeld, 14 June 1933, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:441.
- 5 MOM to OSF, 3 March 1931, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 6 See AEP, 1936, *Reindeer Industry and the Canadian Eskimo*.
- 7 D. E. Crowley, 9 April 1931, Report of Trip to Canadian Drive, and V. Stefansson to C. J. Lomen, 28 July 1930, LFP:48:692.
- 8 L. D. Baldwin to OSF, 7 May 1931; L. D. Baldwin to Lomen Reindeer Corp. 6 June 1931, LFP:48:692.

- 9 For entire account of AEP trip to Scandinavia in 1931, see type-written copy of his journal, Introduction: Trip to Sweden and Norway to engage Laps for Reindeer Station, June–July, 9 pp. and a second part to Sweden and Norwegian Lapland to engage Lap reindeer instructors for Reindeer Experiment, 15 pp., ROM.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE.
DESTINATION REINDEER STATION.

- 1 With one exception cited below, the information in this chapter has been taken from the second part of Erling Porsild's typed copy of his 1931 journal – *To Sweden and Norwegian Lapland to engage Lap reindeer instructors for Reindeer Experiment*, 15 pp. A. E. Porsild collection, ROM.
- 2 AEP to C. L. Porter, 2 May 1949, NHF, re 'Sennegrass' instructions.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR.
THE DRIVE CONTINUES.

- 1 L. D. Baldwin to OSF, 15 Oct 1931, LFP:48:692.
- 2 OSF to L. D. Baldwin, 23 Oct 1931; see also H. E. Hume to L. D. Baldwin, 17 Dec 1931, re: retirement of OSF and work of NWT Branch transferred to Dominion Lands Administration. LFP:48:692.
- 3 OSF to L. D. Baldwin, 29 Nov/1 Dec 1931, LFP:48:692.
- 4 AEP to Commissioner, Dominion Lands Administration, 13 March 1932, PAC/CRP, RG 85:1135:270-1-1; personal communication with Elly Porsild in Whitehorse, 1985.
- 5 A. Bahr to A. J. Lomen, 17 July 1932, LFP:48:692.
- 6 [R. Lomen] to C. J. Lomen, 31 Aug 1934, re: possible purchase of native deer; Circulated warning unsigned, undated, possibly written by Geo.

A. Morelander, Supt. N.W. Dist. U.S. Bureau Educ; see also C. L. Andrews p.p. G. A. Morelander to A. Bahr, 30 July 1929, re: warning not to mix Canadian deer with native deer of Kotzebue Reindeer Co. LFP:48:692.

- 7 D. E. Crowley to R. Lomen, 23 Aug 1934, re: circular by Morelander warning people of the north coast against possible Lomen rustling tactics. LFP:48:692.
- 8 MPP to R. M. Anderson, 1 July 1932, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 9 AEP, 1936, Reindeer Industry and the Canadian Eskimo.
- 10 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 1 July 1932, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 11 RTP, Iris Warner collection, 1973–4, MS B247, Yukon Archives.
- 12 L. D. Baldwin to R. Lomen, 22 Oct 1932, LFP:48:692.
- 13 RTP, 1971, Seal for Government: Alaska Journal, vol. 1, no. 3.
- 14 AEP, 25 Nov 1932, letter for W. H. Collins sent to MOM. PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 15 MOM to AEP, 4 Jan 1933, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 16 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 3 Feb 1933, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 17 A. Bahr to R. Lomen, 7 March 1933; RTP and A. Bahr to R. Lomen, 29 March 1933, LFP:48:692.
- 18 AEP to MOM, 23 June 1933, copy in Anderson's file, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 19 P. M. Hulbert to J. E. Howitt, 24 Aug 1933, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:393.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE.
THE END OF THE PROJECT.

- 1 MPP to R. M. Anderson, 11 Oct 1933, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 2 R. M. Anderson to MPP, 13 Dec 1933, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.

- 3 H. H. Rowatt to R. Lomen, 28 June 1933, LFP:48:692.
- 4 For history leading to investigation of Lomen enterprises, see Olsen, 1969, *Alaska Reindeer Herdsmen*.
- 5 C. J. Lomen to R. Lomen, 8 July 1933, LFP:48:692.
- 6 D. E. Crowley to R. Lomen, 31 Aug–7 Nov 1933, LFP:48:692.
- 7 AEP, 1936, Reindeer Industry and the Canadian Eskimo.
- 8 A. Bahr to C. Lomen, 18 April 1934; D. E. Crowley to R. Lomen, 26/27 Feb 1934; R. Lomen to D. E. Crowley, 16 March 1934; LFP:48:692.
- 9 R. M. Anderson to MPP, 31 July 1934, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 10 R. M. Anderson to H. M. Raup, 4 Nov 1935, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 11 R. M. Anderson to H. M. Raup, 24 Feb 1934, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson. See also M. O. Malte, 1934, Critical notes on plants of Arctic America, *Rhodora* 36:172-193.
- 12 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 9 Aug 1934, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 13 R. M. Anderson to RTP, 12 Oct 1934, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 14 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 20 March 1934, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 15 AEP, 1935, Mackenzie Delta Breeding Ground for Waterfowl.
- 16 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 20 March 1934, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 17 D. E. Crowley to C. J. Lomen, 25 Feb 1935, LFP:48:692.
- 18 AEP, Dom. Lands Admin. Official Receipt of Reindeer, 6 March 1935, PAC/CRP, RG 85:1135-270-1-1.
- 19 R. M. Anderson to AEP, 11 March 1935, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 20 AEP, 1936, Reindeer Industry and the Canadian Eskimo.
- 21 AEP to H. M. Raup, 19 Oct 1935, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 22 H. M. Raup to AEP, 21 Oct 1935, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 23 R. M. Anderson to H. M. Raup, 7 Nov 1935, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 24 H. M. Raup to R. M. Anderson, 12 Nov 1935, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 25 R. M. Anderson to H. M. Raup, 6 May 1936, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX.
THE NATIONAL HERBARIUM.

- 1 W. H. Collins to AEP, 1 May 1936, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:436.
- 2 R. M. Anderson to Professor M. L. Fernald, 14 April 1936, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 3 J. Ramsbottom to MOM, 7 March 1933, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:447.
- 4 MOM to J. Ramsbottom, 28 March 1933, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:447.
- 5 R. M. Anderson to E. Hultén, 31 Aug 1933, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394.
- 6 AEP to V. Wynne-Edwards, 22 Nov 1945, NHF.
- 7 AEP to W. H. Collins, 12 May 1936, memo. PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:436.
- 8 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 5 Aug 1936, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 9 AEP to H. M. Raup, 6 Dec 1936, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457, and AEP to C. Heimbürger, 4 Aug 1936, re: AEP health problem, PAC/NHC, RG 132:25. See also W. J. Hooker, 1829-40, *Flora Boreali-Americana*.
- 10 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 2 Feb 1937, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.

- 11 D. Jenness to AEP, 28 Jan 1937, PAC/NHC, RG 132:27:397. See also, AEP, 1938, *Flora of Little Diomed Island*, and AEP, 1937, *Edible Roots and Berries of Northern Canada*.
- 12 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 7 March 1937, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 13 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 20 March 1937, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 14 AEP to W. Maxon, 16 April 1937, PAC/NHC, RG 132:28:414.
- 15 W. Maxon to AEP, 19 and 24 April 1937, PAC/NHC, RG 132:28:414.
- 16 AEP to E. Hultén, 21 Sept 1936, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394. See also, Hultén, 1937, Outline of the History of Arctic and Boreal Biota during the Quaternary Period and Flora of the Aleutian Islands.
- 17 See AEP, 1938, Earth Mounds in unglaciated northwestern America.
- 18 W. Malcolm to AEP, 23 June 1937, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433; J. A. Urquhart to J. Lorne Turner, 15 Sept 1936, PAC, RG 109.77-8/155:1:7.
- 19 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 14 July 1937, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 20 AEP to J. Seward, 29 Nov 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:33:476; and AEP to H. M. Raup, 12 Sept 1937, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 21 See newspaper article in the *Ottawa Journal*, Tuesday, 7 Sept 1937, under heading "Dr. A. E. Porsild Finds Rare Labrador Plants."
- 22 N. Polunin to AEP, 4 Nov 1937, PAC/BHC, RG 132:31:447.
- 23 AEP to H. M. Raup, 14 Dec 1937, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457. "Nun sieht man leicht" translated by Ludger Müller-Wille as "now one can see it easily."
- 24 AEP to H. M. Raup, 12 Sept 1937; H. M. Raup to AEP, 17 Sept 1937; PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457. See also V. C. Wynne-Edwards, May 1937, *Isolated*

Arctic-Alpine Floras in Eastern North America.

- 25 AEP to H. M. Raup, 12 Sept 1937; H. M. Raup to AEP, 17 Dec 1937, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 26 AEP to H. M. Raup, 10 Jan 1938; H. M. Raup to AEP, 14 Jan 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN.
PUBLISH OR PERISH.

- 1 AEP to H. M. Raup, 10 Jan 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 2 H. M. Raup to AEP, 14 Jan 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 3 AEP to W. Malcolm, 19 Jan 1938; W. Malcolm to J. McLeish, 21 Jan 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 4 AEP to H. M. Raup, 19 Jan 1938 and 28 Jan 1938; H. M. Raup to AEP, 25 Jan 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 5 AEP to H. M. Raup, 28 Jan 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 6 H. M. Raup to J. McLeish, 17 March 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 7 AEP to H. M. Raup, 29 March 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 8 H. M. Raup to AEP, 22 April 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 9 AEP to H. M. Raup, 27 April 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 10 E. Hultén to AEP, 18 Dec 1937, 14 Feb 1938, 10 May 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394.
- 11 See AEP to H. M. Raup, 30 May 1938 and 13 June 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457, re: Hultén's arrival and stay in Ottawa; E. Hultén to AEP for his thanks for hospitality, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394; and E. Hultén, 1941-48, *Flora of Alaska and Yukon*, p. 9, re: not seeing Porsild brothers' northwest collection.

- 12 AEP to H. M. Raup, 13 Aug 1938; H. M. Raup to AEP, 16 June 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 13 See AEP/Raup correspondence file for exchange of letters 16 June–22 Aug 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 14 AEP to W. Malcolm, 19 July 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 15 AEP to H. M. Raup, 28 July 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 16 AEP to H. M. Raup, 7 Aug 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 17 AEP to W. E. Ekblaw, 14 Feb 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:22:354.
- 18 AEP to Sir Albert C. Seward, 29 Nov 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:33:476.
- 19 AEP to H. M. Raup, 16 Aug 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 20 H. M. Raup to AEP, 19 Aug 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 21 AEP to M. L. Fernald, 22 Aug 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:23:363.
- 22 AEP to H. M. Raup, 22 Aug 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 23 M. L. Fernald to AEP, 29 Aug 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:23:363.
- 24 AEP to H. M. Raup, 2 Sept 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457; W. Malcolm to J. McLeish, 3 Sept 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 25 H. M. Raup to AEP, 20 Sept 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457; AEP to E. Hultén, 13 Oct 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394.
- 26 AEP to W. Malcolm, 24 Nov 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 3 AEP to E. Hultén, 14 Dec 1938, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394; AEP to H. M. Raup, 12 Jan 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457. See also AEP to H. M. Raup, 16 May 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457, re: lack of funds for field trips that year.
- 4 AEP to H. M. Raup, 23 Jan 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 5 AEP to H. M. Raup, 2 March/14 April/25 April 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 6 AEP to H. M. Raup, 10 May/15 May 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 7 H. M. Raup to AEP, 13 May 1939; AEP to H. M. Raup, 15 May 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 8 AEP to W. Malcolm, and notes in file, 12 May 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 9 AEP report on the National Herbarium of Canada, June 1930; copy found in memo to Lynch, 23 March 1946, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.
- 10 S. Hadwen, Reindeer Station report, July 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:460.
- 11 AEP to R. A. Gibson, 12 Dec 1938, re: letter from Aslak Tornensis. PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:439.
- 12 S. Hadwen, Reindeer Station report, July 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:460.
- 13 W. E. Ekblaw to AEP, 24 March 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:22:354.
- 14 See P. Berton, 1991, *The Great Depression: 1929–1939*, pp. 593–603.
- 15 W. Malcolm to AEP, 8 Sept 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433; AEP to J. A. Munro, 6 Oct 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:430; AEP to H. M. Raup, 31 Oct 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 16 AEP to H. M. Raup, 31 Oct 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 17 McLeish to AEP, 12 Oct 1939; AEP to McLeish 30 Oct 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:433.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT.
RUMBLES ON THE HORIZON.

- 1 Pierre Berton, 1991, *The Great Depression: 1929–1939*, p. 578.
- 2 H. M. Raup to National Academy of Sciences, copy of proposal sent to AEP, 24 Jan 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.

- 18 H. T. Gussow to AEP, 19 Oct 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:25.
- 19 AEP to H. T. Gussow, 18 Nov 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:25.
- 20 H. T. Gussow to AEP, 21 Nov 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:25.
- 21 H. M. Raup to H. Snyder, 17 Nov 1939; AEP to H. M. Raup, 26 Nov 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE.
THE PROBLEM OF GREENLAND.

- 1 AEP to H. M. Raup, 1 Jan 1940, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 2 V. Wynne-Edwards to AEP, 4 Jan 1940; AEP to V. Wynne-Edwards, 4 Feb 1940, NHF.
- 3 AEP to D. Jenness, 6 March 1940, PAC/NHC, RG 132:27:397.
- 4 Lt. Col. C. H. Reason to Mackenzie King, 9 April 1940; F. W. Bruce to N. A. Robertson, 9 April 1940; NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40. See also Duncan Campbell, 1985, *Global Mission*, vol. 1, pp. 329–30.
- 5 Sec. State/Ext. Affairs Ottawa to Sec. State/Dominion Affairs London, 9 April 1940, NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 6 *Toronto Star*, 10 April 1940. For official consideration of problem, see unsigned memo, POSITION OF GREENLAND, 10 April 1940, NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 7 L. Pearson to O. D. Skelton, 11 April 1940; NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 8 Unsigned memo, POSITION OF GREENLAND, 10 April 1940; NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 9 *New York Times*, 11 April 1940. For official discussion of effect of Monroe doctrine, see unsigned memo CANADA, GREENLAND AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE, 11 April 1940, NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 10 F. W. Bruce to N. A. Robertson, 11 April 1940, NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 11 H. L. Keenleyside, memo, INFORMATION REGARDING GREENLAND, 12 April 1940; NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 12 O. D. Skelton, memo, GREENLAND, 12 April 1940, NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
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 - 16 *Toronto Star*, 25 Jan 1941.
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 - 2 AEP to N. Polunin, 27 Jan 1941, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:447.
 - 3 H. M. Raup to AEP, 18 July 1940, PAC/NAC, RG 132:31:457.
 - 4 H. M. Raup, 1941, Botanical Problems in Boreal America, vol. 7, *The Botanical Review*, March/April.
 - 5 H. M. Raup, 18 July 1940, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
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 - 7 H. M. Raup to AEP, 25 Jan 1941, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
 - 8 AEP to H. M. Raup, 3 Feb 1941, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
 - 9 AEP to H. M. Raup, 13 March 1941, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
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 - 11 AEP to H. M. Raup, 21 April 1941, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.

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- 13 AEP to R. M. Anderson, confidential memo, 3 April 1941, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 14 AEP, official memo Re: Preparation of work on Ottawa Flora, 3 April 1941, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 15 AEP to M. L. Fernald, 10 May 1941, PAC/NHC, RG 132:23:363.
- 16 M. J. Dunbar to AEP, 27 April 1941, NAC/RG25:2799:793-E-40.
- 17 AEP to H. Keenleyside, 28 April 1941, NAC/RG25:2799:793-E-40.
- 18 W. B. Timm to C. Camsell, 15 May 1941, NAC/RG25:2799:793-E-40.
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- 8 AEP to H. Keenleyside, 27 May 1941, re: Greenland Defence, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40.
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- 12 H. Keenleyside to Chargé d'Affaires Washington, 8 Aug 1941; Can. Min. Washington to H. Keenleyside, 28 Aug 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40. See also *New York Times*, 6 Aug 1941.

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- 2 For exchange of telegrams re: Canadian air base, radio/meteorological stations, 19 Aug 1940–Jan 1941, see NAC/RG25:2800:802-40.
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- 6 R. M. MacDonnell to W. G. Hayter, Brit. Emb. Washington, 19 May 1941, re: Expedition to S. Greenland re: airfield; K. P. Kirkwood to Ext. Affairs, 26 July 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40. See also Eske Brun, 1970, *Greenland and its Strategic Development during the Second World War*, pp. 161–63.
- 13 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 7 July 1941, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson; Trevor Lloyd, 1985, personal interview.
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- 15 K. P. Kirkwood to Sec. State, 20 July 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40c.
- 16 B. A. Macdonald to Ext. Affairs, 12 Aug 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40.
- 17 AEP to Ext. Affairs, 24 Nov 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40.
- 18 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 7 July 1941, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson; Max Dunbar, 1995, *Essays from a Life*, pp. 66–67; Trevor Lloyd, 1985, personal interview; K. P. Kirkwood to Ext. Affairs, 26 July 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40c.

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- 20 K. P. Kirkwood to M. J. Dunbar, 2 Aug 1941, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40; Max Dunbar, 1995, *Essays from a Life*, p. 65, note 7.
- 21 H. Keenleyside to M. J. Dunbar, 19 Aug 1941, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40; H. Keenleyside to AEP, 26 Aug 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40.
- 22 H. Keenleyside to R. E. Powell, 29 Aug 1941, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40. See also W. R. McConnell, Purchasing Agent for Alcan, to A. Fischer, 18 Aug 1941, re: problem with quality, and October exchange of letters re: problems with quantity, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40.
- 23 H. Keenleyside to AEP, 16 Oct 1941, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40.
- 24 AEP to H. Keenleyside, 20 Oct 1941, NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40.
- 25 AEP to H. Keenleyside, 13 Nov 1941, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40.
- 26 M. J. Dunbar to H. Keenleyside, 1 Dec 1941, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40.

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- 2 AEP to E. Abbe, 2 Jan 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:18:284; H. M. Raup to AEP, 8 Jan 1942; AEP to H. M. Raup, 19 Jan 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 3 R. M. Anderson to AEP, 1 Aug/6 Aug 1941, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 4 AEP to H. M. Raup, 26 Feb 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 5 E. Abbe to AEP, 13 June 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:18:284; E. Abbe to Director, Nat. Mus. Can., 21 June 1942, NHF.
- 6 AEP to F.C.C. Lynch, 27 Feb/ 4 March/ 7 March 1942, NHF. See also C. Camsell to AEP, 17 Jan 1942, thanking him for cryolite polar bear; PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:332.
- 7 AEP to H. Keenleyside, 7 April 1942; Ext. Affairs to AEP, 11 April 1942, NAC/RG25:2799:793-F-40.
- 8 Trans. N. Am. Wildlife Conference, vol. 7:231-391 (1942).
- 9 AEP to W. B. Timm, 25 April 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:332.
- 10 AEP to F.C.C. Lynch, two memos written on 23 April 1942, NHF.
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- 12 M. L. Fernald to AEP, 11 April 1942; AEP to M. L. Fernald, 11 May 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:23:363.
- 13 L. Constance to AEP, 27 May 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:28:413; E. Abbe to AEP, 15 June 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:18:284.
- 14 AEP to H. M. Raup, 31 May 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 15 H. M. Raup to AEP, 23 May 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457.
- 16 AEP to H. M. Raup, 11 June 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:457; AEP to M. L. Fernald, 11 June 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:23:363.
- 17 AEP to F.C.C. Lynch, 12 June 1942, NHF.
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- 19 R. M. Anderson to AEP, 24 July 1942: C. W. Jackson, Deputy Min. Mines and Resources, to W. B. Timm, 7 July 1942, internal memo re: Publication of Results of Botanical Studies of the Flora of Northern Canada by A. E. Porsild; PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:332.
- 20 AEP to C. Camsell, 3 Oct 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:30:332.

- 21 L. Croizat to H. Harkness, 12 Aug 1942, PAC/NHC, RG 132:27:396.

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PORSILD.

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- 2 M. J. Dunbar to Sec. State, 6 July 1942, NAC/RG25:2799:793-F-40; Dunbar, 1995, *Essays from a Life*, pp. 67-71.
- 3 AEP to N. Polunin, 3 Feb 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:447.
- 4 M. J. Dunbar to Sec. State, North Greenland Report, 20 Oct 1942, NAC/RG25:2799:793-F-40.
- 5 Trevor Lloyd, personal interview, 1985; Max Dunbar, 1995, *Essays from a Life*, p. 68.
- 6 M. J. Dunbar to Sec. State, North Greenland Report, 20 Oct 1942, NAC/RG25:2799:793-F-40.
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- 8 AEP to H. Keenleyside, 17 Sept 1942, NAC/RG25:2731:267-J-40.
- 9 C. H. Ostenfeld, 1926, *The Flora of Greenland and its Origin*; M. P. Porsild, 1932, *Alien Plants and Apophytes of Greenland*; AEP, 1945, *Survey of the Adventitious Flora of Ivigtut in Southwest Greenland*.
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- 11 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 12 Sept 1942, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 12 R. M. Anderson to H. M. Raup, 3 Oct 1942, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
- 13 K. P. Kirkwood to H. Keenleyside re: J. Pennfield letter, 31 March 1943, NAC/RG25:2799:793-F-40.
- 14 M. J. Dunbar to H. Keenleyside, 12 Jan 1943; see also F. W. Bruce to H. Keenleyside, 22 May 1943, re: Alcan's lack of cryolite need in 1943/request for stockpiling year's contract minimum at mine. NAC/RG25:2732:267-J-40.
- 15 M.J. Dunbar, Memorandum on the Canadian Consulate, Godthaab, Greenland, 17 Feb 1943, NAC/RG25:2799:793-F-40.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.

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- 3 AEP to Sec. State, secret dispatches 11 May and 15 May 1943, NAC/RG25:2411:102-HX-40c.
- 4 Ibid.
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- 6 Dunbar, 1995, *Essays from a Life*, p. 72.
- 7 AEP to Austin H. Clark, 29 Nov 1943, PAC/NHC, RG132:21:339.
- 8 AEP to Sec. State, 17 Nov 1943, re journey to north Greenland with Gov. Eske Brun, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40.
- 9 Ibid.
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- 12 Ibid.
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- 16 AEP to Sec. State, re: journey to report on conditions in southern portion of West Greenland from Godthaab to Bluie West 1, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40. (Note: Of the nine US stations established in Greenland, Bluie West 1 airbase was first, Bluie West 7 was primarily a naval facility with 25-bed hospital located in Ivigtut area.)
- 17 Ibid. See also AEP to Gov. Eske Brun, 13 Feb 1941, re: gift of hardy Canadian perennials/seeds of Canadian forest trees, PAC/NHC, RG 132:24:374.
- 18 AEP to Sec. State, re: journey to report on conditions in southern portion of West Greenland from Godthaab to Bluie West 1, NAC/RG25:2800:802-40.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 AEP, 1944, "Notes from a Labrador Peat Bog," *Canadian Field-Naturalist* 58, Jan-Feb.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 AEP, 1943, "Materials for a flora of the Continental Northwest Territories of Canada," *Sargentia* IV, September. See also copy of Minute of Meeting of Treasury Board, Privy Council Canada, 22 Sept 1943, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 23 R. M. Anderson to AEP, 21 Oct 1943, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 4 AEP to H. M. Raup, 25 April 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
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- 6 R.S. Finnie to AEP, 1 Feb 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:364.
- 7 AEP to R. S. Finnie, 11 Feb 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:364.
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- 14 A. Breitung to AEP, 2 Jan 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 15 AEP to A. Breitung, 7 Jan 1939, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 16 A. Breitung to AEP, 19 Feb 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319. See also AEP/A. Breitung correspondence 2 Jan 1939 to 23 April 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 17 A. Breitung to AEP, 24 Feb/22 April 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 18 H. M. Raup to R. M. Anderson, 4 March 1944, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson; H. M. Raup to AEP, 22 April 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.

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- 2 AEP to H.M. Raup, 15 Nov 1943, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 3 H.M. Raup to AEP, 6 Dec 1943, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.

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- 20 Ibid.
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- 22 R. M. Anderson to AEP, 22 May 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449.
- 23 AEP to R. M. Anderson, 26 May 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:449; R. M. Anderson memo Re: Publication of contribution on "Mammals of the Mackenzie Delta" by A. E. Porsild, 7 June 1944, CMNAC/1996-077-Series A-Anderson.
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- 28 Ibid.
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- 30 Elly Porsild, personal interview, Whitehorse, 1985. See also article entitled "From Five Cents a Plant to Herding Reindeer," *Whitehorse Star*, 9 March 1977.
- 31 H.M. Raup to AEP, 22 Oct 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 32 AEP to H. M. Raup, 29 Sept 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 3 AEP to F. Hunter, 9 Jan 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26.
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- 17 AEP to A. Breitung, 20 Jan/10 March 1945; A. Breitung to AEP, 4 April 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 18 AEP to H. M. Raup, 14 March 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 19 AEP to Mrs. V. Hatting, 16 March 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454. For ref: to 1944 disaster, see AEP, 1947, *Report on the Reindeer and the Mackenzie Delta Reindeer Grazing Reserve*, p. 17.
- 20 For establishment of native herds, see Reindeer Bulletin, Bureau NWT/ Yukon Affairs, Dept. Mines and Resources, 31 Oct 1942.
- 21 R.A. Gibson to AEP, 18 Oct 1945; AEP to R.A. Gibson, 18 Oct 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 22 AEP to R. A. Gibson, 18 Oct 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.

CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN.
THE YEAR THE WAR ENDED.

- 1 J.L. Granatstein, 1977, *Mackenzie King: His Life and World*, pp. 155–68.
- 2 R. M. Anderson to AEP, 30 Nov 1944, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:448.

- 23 AEP to R.A. Gibson, 19 March 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:461.
- 24 R. A. Gibson to AEP, 22 March 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:32:461.
- 25 AEP to A. Breitung, 9 May 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 26 AEP to H. M. Raup, 1 June 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 27 AEP to A. Breitung, 5/6 June 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 28 AEP to H. M. Raup, 25 Aug 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 29 AEP to V. Wynne-Edwards, 2 Nov 1945, NHF; AEP to P. Scholander, 9 Oct 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:33:474.
- 30 AEP to H.M. Raup, 25 Aug 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454.
- 31 AEP to H. M. Raup, 4 Oct 1945, 4 March 1946, PAC/NHC, RG 132:31:454. See also, *Edmonton Journal*, 24 Sept 1945.
- 32 A. Breitung to AEP and daughter, Dec 1945, PAC/NHC, RG 132:20:319.
- 7 T. Lloyd to AEP, 28 Aug 1946, NHF.
- 8 M.J. Dunbar, 1995, *Essays from a Life*.
- 9 AEP to H.M. Raup, 5 Oct 1946, NHF.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 AEP to H.M. Raup, 12 April 1947, NHF.
- 12 AEP to H.M. Raup, 16 May 1947, NHF.
- 13 AEP to H.M. Raup, 2 June 1947, NHF.
- 14 AEP to H. M. Raup, 12 April 1947, NHF.
- 15 AEP, September 1947, Report on the Reindeer and the Mackenzie Delta Reindeer Grazing Reserve as observed during my visit in July–August 1947, NHF.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 For update on Reindeer Station, see Inuvialuit Regional Corp, 2007; Lloyd Binder quote from CBC News, 8 Jan 2008.

CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT. POSTWAR SETTLEMENT.

- 1 AEP to E. Hultén, 30 Oct/6 Nov 1945/ 21 Feb 1946, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394.
- 2 E. Hultén to AEP, 2 April 1946, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394.
- 3 AEP to E. Hultén, 7 June 1946, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394.
- 4 E. Hultén to AEP, 19 Sept 1946, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394. See also, AEP, 1955, *Botany of Southeastern Yukon Adjacent to the Canol Road*.
- 5 See E. Hultén, 1968, *Flora of Alaska and Neighbouring Territories*.
- 6 AEP to E. Hultén, 25 April 1946, PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:394; Annual Report for the National Herbarium in the National Museum of Canada, April 1946–March 1947.

CHAPTER THIRTY-NINE. THE “OLD MAN” OF THE HERBARIUM.

- 1 For description of AEP, see Loris S. Russell, *Proc. Royal Soc. Can.*, 4th Series, vol. XVIII, 1980.
- 2 AEP to G. Douglas, 24 Nov 1947, PAC/NHC, RG 132:22:351.
- 3 AEP to B. Maguire, 15 April 1948; H. M. Raup to AEP, 19 April 1948; H. Harkness to H. M. Raup, 26 April 1948, NHF.

- 4 See AEP Daily Journal, 1948, Trip through the Southwestern States to California, typed, 24 pages. NHF.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 See Annual Report of the National Museum, Bulletin No. 118, 1948–49. See also Ilmari Hustich, 1951, *Forest-botanical notes from Knob Lake in the interior of the Labrador Peninsula*.
- 8 AEP to H. M. Raup, 29 Sept 1949; See also P. Jenness to J. W. Watson, 8 July 1949, re: unauthorized change of plans to go to Great Bear Lake, and P. Jenness to AEP, 11 Dec 1949, re: Treasury questions of additional cost. NHF.
- 9 AEP, "A Botanical Exploration of Banks and Victoria Islands," *Arctic Circular*, Jan 1950.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 AEP to H. M. Raup, 29 Sept 1949, NHF.
- 12 AEP to H.M. Raup, 31 Jan 1950, NHF.
- 13 AEP to H.M. Raup, 15 Sept 1950, NHF.
- 14 See Annual Report, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 126, 1950–51.
- 15 AEP to H.M. Raup, 1 March 1951, NHF.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 H.M. Raup to AEP, 12 March 1951; AEP to H.M. Raup, 21 March/17 April 1951, NHF.
- 18 D. Raup to AEP 19 Sept 1951; AEP to H.M. Raup, 25 Sept 1951, NHF.
- 19 AEP to H. M. Raup, 25 Sept 1951; AEP to D. Raup, 31 Oct 1951, NHF.
- 20 AEP to H. M. Raup, 27 Oct 1951, NHF.
- 21 AEP to H. M. Raup, 27 Oct 1951/21 Jan 1952, NHF.
- 22 AEP to H.M. Raup, 21 Jan 1952, NHF.
- 23 H. M. Raup to AEP, 23 Jan/31 March 1952, NHF.
- 24 AEP to H. M. Raup, 28 March 1952; H. M. Raup to AEP, 19 April 1952, NHF.
- 25 AEP to H.M. Raup, 22 April 1952.
- 26 AEP to H. M. Raup, 2 June 1952, NHF.
- 27 See Quarterly Report, National Herbarium, 1 April–30 June 1952.
- 28 See Chapter 40.

CHAPTER FORTY.
STORM OVER THE ARCTIC.

- 1 All references in this chapter were taken directly from National Herbarium files, except for quotations from personal copies of Farley Mowat's *People of the Deer* and *The Desperate People*, and Mowat's perspective on the affair which is documented in his recent book, *Eastern Passage*, published by McClelland & Stewart in 2010.
- 2 F. Mowat to D. Cloud, Oct 1949, quoted in *Eastern Passage*, 2010.
G. Douglas to AEP, 1 April 1952; C. Wilson to AEP, 1 April/8 April, 1952.
- 3 MacLennan quote taken from McClelland & Stewart ad for book, *Ottawa Journal* 19 April 1952. For Stefansson blessing, see G. Douglas to AEP quoting P. G. Downes, 1 April 1952; for quotes from *Boston Sunday Herald* and *New York Times*, see list of tributes inside cover of *People of the Deer*, Pyramid edition, New York, 1968.
- 4 AEP to E. M. Weyer Jr., editor, *Natural History*, journal of the American Museum of Natural History, after the publication of a favourable review by Julius Bird.
- 5 AEP to C. Wilson, 21 May 1952.
- 6 F. Harper to AEP, 18 April 1947.
- 7 D. Clarke to C. Wilson, 9 April 1952.
- 8 F. Harper to AEP, 18 April 1952. See also: Mowat's criticisms of Harper in *Eastern Passage*, 2010.
- 9 AEP to G. Douglas, 16 April/28 May 1952.

- 10 AEP, "Review of People of the Deer," *The Beaver*, June 1952, p. 47.
- 11 Re: AEP, "Review of People of the Deer," *The Beaver*, June 1952. See: Summary of the main charges made by AEP against Farley Mowat together with summary of Mr. Mowat's reply, attached to letter, C. Wilson to AEP, 14 July 1952. See also: reasons given for not publishing Mowat's lengthy defense of his book and AEP long response due to lack of space, *The Beaver*, Sept 1952.
- 12 See article by B. V. Ferguson, *Montreal Star*, 30 June 1952; C. Wilson to AEP, 14 July 1952.
- 13 See Letters to the Editor from publisher/Farley Mowat rebuttal, *Montreal Star*, 15 July 1952.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 AEP to C. Wilson, 22 July 1952.
- 17 Ibid. See also C. Wilson to AEP, 14 July 1952, for Mowat's 6-page unpublished rebuttal to *Beaver* re: language interpretations subsequently confirmed by "J. Miche of Paris, a professional anthropologist and Eskimo linguist who visited the Ihalmiut in 1951."
- 18 AEP to C. Wilson, 22 July 1952.
- 19 AEP to G. Douglas, 29 July/13 Aug 1952.
- 20 Scott Young, "Storm Out of the Arctic," *Saturday Night*, 18 Oct 1952; subheading "Farley Mowat's 'People of the Deer' despite wide public acclaim has earned disapproval from critic of one northern magazine"; illustrated with artist's conception of Farley Mowat in setting of 'People of the Deer,' Atlantic cover painting by M. Korbach.
- 21 AEP to R. A. Farquharson, 15 Sept 1952.
- 22 C. Wilson to AEP, 17 Sept 1952.
- 23 R.A. Farquharson to AEP, 3 Oct 1952.
- 24 AEP to R. A. Farquharson, 7 Oct 1952.
- 25 AEP to C. Wilson, unposted, note re: phone call at top, 15 April 1952; AEP to Gen. H. A. Young, 16 Oct 1952.
- 26 AEP, "Arctic Storm in Reverse," Letter to the Editor, *Saturday Night*, 25 Oct 1952.
- 27 Scott Young, Letter to the Editor, *Saturday Night*, 1 Nov 1952.
- 28 Richard Harrington, "Arctic Snowball Fight," Letter to the Editor, *Saturday Night*, 1 Nov 1952.
- 29 See AEP/F. Mowat, Dec 1952, for exchange of greetings.
- 30 A. H. Lawrie to AEP, 13 July 1953; AEP to A. H. Lawrie, 17 July 1953; F. Mowat to AEP, 18 July 1953.
- 31 Anisfield-Wolf Award announcement, Can. Library Association Bulletin, vol. 10, no. 3, 1953, p. 92; AEP to R. Linton, 24 Nov 1953.
- 32 See Hansard, 19 Jan 1954.
- 33 Farley Mowat, "The Case of the Disappearing Eskimos," *Saturday Night*, 30 Oct 1954.
- 34 E. Carpenter to AEP, 2 Nov 1954.
- 35 F. Mowat to AEP, 29 Nov 1957.
- 36 Farley Mowat, 1959, *The Desperate People*, Foreword.
- 37 H. Harkness to F. Mowat, 3 Dec 1957; R.A.J. Phillips to AEP, 6 Jan 1958.

CHAPTER FORTY-ONE.
STUDY YEAR IN EUROPE.

- 1 H.M. Raup to AEP, 19 Jan 1953, NHF.
- 2 AEP to H.M. Raup, 21 Jan 1953, NHF.
- 3 H.M. Raup to AEP, 23 March 1953. See also exchange of letters 28 Feb to 23 March 1953, NHF.
- 4 AEP to H.M. Raup, 3 April 1953, NHF.
- 5 AEP to H.M. Raup, 11 April 1953, NHF.
- 6 H. M. Raup to AEP, , 14 April 1953, NHF.

- 7 AEP to E. D. Merrill/H. Mason, 15 April; AEP to D. Jenness, 19 April; AEP to F. J. Alcock, 24 June 1953. NHF.
- 8 AEP to H. M. Raup, 25 July 1953, NHF. See also Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No.136, 1953–54.
- 9 J. Thomson to AEP, 2 Oct 1953; AEP to J. Thomson, 13 Oct 1953, NHF.
- 10 AEP to V. Wynne-Edwards, 29 Sept 1953, NHF.
- 11 Confirmation of unusual PhD circumstances received from records office, University of Copenhagen, 3 Jan 1986, personal communication.
- 12 Annual Report of the National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 136, 1953–54.
- 13 M. Westergard to AEP, 8 Jan 1984; AEP to M. Dunbar, 19 May 1953; AEP to M/J Dunbar, 25 May 1953, NHF.
- 14 AEP to H. M. Raup, 11 March 1954; H. Crum to National Herbarium, 25 Feb 1954; M. Hale to AEP, 8 May 1954; M. Hale to F. J. Alcock, 28 June 1954, NHF.
- 15 AEP to F.J. Alcock, 15 Aug 1954, NHF.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 AEP to E. D. Merrill, 7 Jan 1955, NHF.
- 18 AEP to F. J. Alcock, 15 Aug 1954, NHF.
- 19 AEP to E. D. Merrill, 7 Jan 1955, NHF.
- 20 AEP Report to the American Philosophical Society, typed copy, undated. NHF.
- 21 AEP to F. J. Alcock, 15 Aug 1954; F. J. Alcock to AEP, 10 Dec 1954, NHF.
- 22 AEP to Miss Burke, 17 Jan 1955, NHF.
- 23 AEP to M. Dunbar, 15 Feb 1955, NHF.
- 24 AEP to J. Ewan, 11 July 1955, NHF. See also Death Certificate, Elizabeth Porsild, 19 April 1955, Personnel File, NAC/RG32:686.
- 25 J. Ewan to AEP, 30 June 1955; AEP to E. D. Merrill, 27 June 1955; N. Radforth

to AEP, 23 Nov 1955; AEP to N. Radforth, 24 Nov 1955, NHF.

- 26 AEP to T. Lloyd, 25 May 1956; T. Lloyd to AEP, 30 May 1956; PAC/NHC, RG 132:26:402.
- 27 Circumstances re: granting PhD received from records office, University of Copenhagen, 3 Jan 1986, personal communication. See also, AEP, 1955, "The vascular plants of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago," National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 135.

CHAPTER FORTY-TWO. ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND HUDSON BAY LOWLANDS.

- 1 See Annual Report of National Herbarium, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 147, 1955–56.
- 2 AEP to H. M. Raup, 21 Sept 1955, NHF.
- 3 AEP to H. M. Raup, 2 Sept 1955, NHF.
- 4 H. M. Raup to AEP, 14 Dec 1955, NHF. See also Annual Report of National Herbarium, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 147, 1955–56.
- 5 See minutes of meeting 14 Jan 1956, also AEP notes "Some thoughts on what we had better try to do," typed, undated. NHF.
- 6 See AEP Daily Journal 1956, "Reconnaissance by air of Hudson Bay Lowlands, Ontario," July 9–21. AEP Collection, ROM.
- 7 AEP to J. Lid, 30 Nov 1955, NHF.
- 8 See AEP Daily Journal 1956, Introduction, "Botanical Survey of Banff National Park," 11 June–8 July/23 July–30 Aug 1956, AEP Collection, ROM.
- 9 AEP to H.M.Raup, 23 Sept 1956, NHF.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 AEP to H. M. Raup, 5 Nov 1956, NHF. See also Loris S. Russell, 1961, *The National Museum of Canada*, information booklet, p. 9.

- 13 See AEP, Daily Journal, Introduction to "Journey to Denmark, Switzerland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, and Austria to study E. Asiatic arctic plants in the herbaria, on Guggenheim Fellowship," 1957–58.
- 14 See minutes Field Trip Committee 9th International Botanical Congress, 14 April 1956, NHF.
- 15 AEP to H. M. Raup, 2/22 April 1957; AEP to L. Raup, 18 June 1957, NHF.
- 16 AEP to L. S. Russell, 3 April 1957; AEP to J/D Lid, 15 Oct 1957; AEP to H. M. Raup, 1 Nov 1957, NHF.
- 17 See AEP Daily Journal 1957, "Botanical Survey of Eastern Rocky Mountain Front Ranges, Alberta," August–September. AEP Collection, ROM.
- 18 AEP to "The Lids," 15 Oct 1957; AEP to the Sjörs, 1 Oct 1957, NHF.
- 19 AEP to V. Wynne-Edwards, 27 Sept 1957, NHF.
- 20 AEP to H. Sjörs, 30 Oct 1957, NHF.
- 21 AEP to H. M. Raup, 1 Nov 1957, NHF.
- 5 AEP to H. M. Raup, 26 June/23 Sept 1958; AEP to H. Sjörs, 17 June 1958, NHF.
- 6 AEP to H. Sjörs, 5 Jan 1959; AEP to O. Gjaerevoll, 17 Nov 1958, NHF.
- 7 AEP to T. Bøcher, 8 April 1959, NHF.
- 8 Draft of letter, W.P. Thompson to the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, 4 Aug 1958, NHF.
- 9 A. Hamilton to Hon. George Pearkes 17 Nov 1958/28 Jan 1959; G. Carty, memo, 24 April 1959, NHF.
- 10 AEP to T. W. Bøcher, 5 May 1959, NHF.
- 11 H. M. Raup to AEP, 12 May 1959; AEP to H. M. Raup, 29 May 1959, NHF.
- 12 W. A. Weber to AEP, 29 June 1959; AEP to W. A. Weber, 3 July 1959; see also AEP official report (see next endnote); AEP to H. Sjörs, 9 June/2 Oct 1959 for Weber assistance/accomplishments on trips. NHF.

CHAPTER FORTY-THREE.

NINTH INTERNATIONAL BOTANICAL CONGRESS.

- 1 AEP to J. Ewan, 9 Jan 1958, NHF.
- 2 Note from Bill Weber, 2009: "Carl Rechinger told me that the monocots had been safe until the day when the Allied troops discovered it and made a big bonfire celebrating the war's end!"
- 3 For account of trip to Europe, see AEP Daily Journal, 1957–58, "Journey to Denmark, Switzerland, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, and Austria to study E. Asiatic arctic plants in the herbaria, on Guggenheim Fellowship." Porsild Collection, ROM.
- 4 Interview with Hilda Harkness, 1984; Marriage certificate, 11 Aug 1958, Edmonton, Alberta; NAC/RG32:686.

CHAPTER FORTY-FOUR.

THE LAST YEARS.

- 1 AEP to H. M. Raup, 22 Feb 1960; AEP to H. Sjörs, 26 April 1960, NHF.
- 2 AEP to H. Sjörs, 20 Oct/11 Dec 1960; AEP to O. Gjaerevoll, 22 Dec 1960, NHF.
- 3 H. M. Raup to AEP, 19 Jan 1961; AEP to H. M. Raup, 4 Feb 1961, NHF.

- 4 AEP to H. Sjörs, 20 Feb/21 April 1961, NHF.
- 5 H. M. Raup to AEP, 10/14 Aug 1961; AEP to H. M. Raup, 5/25 Aug/16 Nov 1961, NHF.
- 6 AEP to H. Sjörs, 12 Jan/17 Sept/12 Oct 1962, NHF.
- 7 AEP to H. Sjörs, 1 Nov 1963; AEP to H. M. Raup, 19 Aug 1963, NHF.
- 8 AEP to H. Sjörs, 1 Nov 1963; AEP to H. M. Raup, 5 Dec 1963, NHF.
- 9 AEP to H. M. Raup, 26 March/23 April 1964; H. M. Raup to AEP, 28 April 1964, NHF.
- 10 AEP to H. Sjörs, 24 Sept/15 Dec 1964, NHF.
- 11 AEP to H. Sjörs, 25 May 1965; AEP to H. M. Raup, 20 Sept 1965.
- 12 See Quarterly Reports, National Herbarium of Canada, 1 April–31 Dec 1966; NHF.
- 13 Lyn Harrington, undated article, "Botany Bob Porsild," Yukon Archives, Acc. # 82/137.
- 14 See National Museum news bulletin, 16 Jan 1967.
- 15 AEP to H. Sjörs, 1 Dec 1966/15 March 1967, NHF.

EPILOGUE.

CLOSING THE CIRCLE.

- 1 Bassett Maguire, 1958, "Boreal America," in *Fifty Years of Botany*, by William Steere, p. 213.
- 2 J. H. Soper, personal communication, 9 Dec 1985.
- 3 See J. H. Soper and W. J. Cody, 1978, "Alf Erling Porsild, M.B.E, F.R.S.C. (1901–1977)," *Can. Field-Nat.*, vol. 92; see also, Bruce A. Bennett and Paul M. Catling, 2009, "William (Bill) J. Cody: A Legacy of Contributions to Northern Canadian Botany," *Botanical Electronic News*, no. 410, 17 June 2009.
- 4 See Loris S. Russell, 1980, "Alf Erling Porsild, 1901–1977," *Proc. Royal Soc. Can.*, series IV: vol. XVIII, p. 114.
- 5 T. J. Wood, 1978, "Dr. A. E. Porsild – An Appreciation," *Arctic Circular* 26(1): 19–23, p. 22.
- 6 Hugh M. Raup, 1978, "Alf Erling Porsild (1901–1977)," *Arctic* 31(1): 67–68.
- 7 See *Whitehorse Star*, 3 Jan 1978; *Yukon News*, 4 Jan 1978.
- 8 Richard S. Finnie, "The Polar Porsilds," *North*, Summer 1981.
- 9 Áskell Löve, "A. Erling Porsild 1901–1977 in Memoriam," *Arctic and Alpine Research* 10.



SOURCES AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The single most important document at the beginning of the research was given to me by Mr. Aksel Porsild, son of Robert Porsild, to whom and for which I am grateful beyond words. It was a typed copy of Erling Porsild's daily record of his first work with the Department of the Interior, 1926–28: "Field Journal of an Expedition through Alaska, Yukon, and the Mackenzie District, being a botanical reconnaissance with special reference to the suitability of the country for domesticated reindeer. Also many notes on the physiography of the country, its inhabitants, wild life and general economic conditions. 146 pp." This unpublished diary was nowhere found on file in any future searches, and I am more than grateful to the staff of the Boreal Institute library in Edmonton for putting me in touch with Mr. Porsild as well as to him for his generous and timely gift.

Other important and unpublished daily journals, as referred to in the text and endnotes, covered official journeys taken during Erling Porsild's years at the National Herbarium. They were located in 1985 in the A. E. Porsild collection at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario. This assortment of miscellaneous papers, published and unpublished documents, and literature (personally annotated by Porsild) was collected and/or presented to him during his tenure as Botanist and Chief Botanist at the herbarium before being donated to the ROM after his death. Thankfully, I was able to examine the whole prior to dispersal into various other libraries as was expected. I would like to express my appreciation of the help received from ROM staff, who graciously photocopied material for me to take away with me while trustingly allowing me to go through the large unsorted pile of material without removing anything of value to a sorely tempted biographer and lover of books and botany.

Voluminous correspondence, reports, and miscellaneous papers connected with the Canadian Reindeer Project (Northern Affairs) were available from the Public Archives of Canada (RG85:1135:270-1-1). A trip to Fairbanks

revealed that the Alaskan Reindeer papers were to be found in the B. B. Mozee collection (M6 A4) and the Lomen Family Papers 1850–1969 (Box 48, Folder 692) at the Elmer E. Rasmussen Library, University of Alaska. The study visit to the northwest in the summer of 1985 was only made possible through a northern training grant from the Centre for Northern Studies at McGill University for which I would like to express my deep gratitude. I am also grateful to Mrs. Erika Mothersill in whose car we drove the Alaska Highway, and to Dr. R. White and Dr. D. Klein at the University of Fairbanks who made several helpful contributions and took me to see the deserted reindeer station at Cantwell.

While passing through Whitehorse, I was able to interview Mrs. Elly Porsild, who was charming and helpful about family aspects that I had found puzzling, and find copies of correspondence and other items related to Robert and Elly Porsild in the Yukon Archives including the Iris Warner collection of 1973–74. The northern training grant allowed me to continue to Inuvik and fly home via Yellowknife. I would like to thank the staff at the Inuvik Scientific Resource Centre for allowing me to stay in their facility and helping me to get down the Mackenzie River Delta to Reindeer Station and to the Tuktoyaktuk Peninsula by boat and small plane to look for pingos and reindeer, and the Northwest Territories Archives at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife for looking for information there, although I found little that was useful.

Back east, a primary source of inestimable value was that found in the official correspondence files located in the National Herbarium of Canada, and again I must thank McGill University for the Fonds pour la Formation de Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche (Fonds FCAR Québec) scholarship that allowed me to finance the months of research in Ottawa. Thanks to the generous encouragement of Dr. Irwin (Ernie) Brodo, Chief Botanist at the National Herbarium, in 1985–86, I was given space to work in the herbarium and free access to the files kept by Porsild from 1936 to 1967, prior to their removal to outside archives where they would be less accessible. Again, everyone was wonderfully helpful in allowing me to photocopy everything I felt I needed, some of which would prove excessive as I learned more of my subject but I was not to know that at the time. I would like here to repeat my special thanks to Ernie for his ever-kind support and for his warm foreword which gives us such an immediate and intimate picture of Erling Porsild at home and in the Herbarium, and to his wife Fenja for her delightful company while we worked together on our separate projects in the basement of the National Herbarium.

Although I wish to thank the entire National Herbarium staff, and in particular Dr. James Soper for his thoughtful contributions and Kathy Pryer and Mike Shchepanek for their encouraging assistance, there is one member who deserves special mention. To Dr. George Argus, now retired but still working hard on his willows, who has found the time, even when he has little of it to spare, to go through my manuscript more than once in its developing phases and frequently offer wise advice about how to find something or someone and also correct some of my worst errors, and to his wife Mary Argus, I can only repeat my thanks over and over for their support over the years, for being there when I was ready to give up, and continually believing that I could and would do it.

An additional vast collection of herbarium correspondence, reports, and documents was available from the Public Archives of Canada under National Herbarium correspondence, 1863–1963 (RG132, vols. 18–36), and I spent months and years in that superb institution, suffering a great deal of embarrassment at the time due to a clacking typewriter surrounded on all sides by silent new computers, and with a fistful of copy money in order to obtain larger sections of material that was needed. Personnel documents (RG32:686:Int.7) were at first considered too confidential to be released but were given to me eventually to be used with discretion. For many years, the External Affairs records were not available at the Public Archives for one reason or another. Sometime in the winters between 2005 and 2008, I was able to track them down in what had by then become known as the National Archives of Canada, filed under RG25, which gave me the background and history of the Canadian Consulate in Greenland during and immediately after World War II. I have nothing but praise for the extent and efficiency of this national treasure chest of important Canadian records and for the people who faithfully keep it running.

Since the time when I first worked on the files in the National Herbarium, the Canadian Museum of Nature has established an archival department and I suspect that the 1936–67 Porsild papers will be found there in future if not now. It was in these new archives, thanks to an introduction by George Argus, that I more recently discovered the letters between A. E. Porsild and R. M. Anderson, a rich source for the personal details and private opinions exchanged between them. I am very grateful to Chantal Dussault and Andrée Bisson for taking so much time and trouble to find and photocopy material from the Anderson collection for me to use.

Beyond the unpublished material found in various files, there is a wealth of data in published articles, reports, and reference books, some written by Porsild himself. Most of the material of this nature, listed under Selected Bibliography, either came from the National Herbarium as a gift, or were bought by me, or obtained on loan from the McGill University library system, or more locally by ordering them through the always helpful Grand Manan Library staff. I have also to thank Ava Sturgeon, Archivist at the Grand Manan Archives, for spending hours in searching for important information for me, Binx Remnant of Winnipeg provided a helpful contact, and Therese Etherington supplied a critical piece of the puzzle from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

Some of the most important additions to the text have been the excellent digital maps produced by Faith Carlson of Unity, Maine, and Ragnar Müller-Wille of Montreal. They have worked hard to satisfy the requirements of the University of Calgary Press and the sometimes obscure and difficult requests of the author, but I am more than delighted with and grateful for all they have done.

Gathering the photographic illustrations proved to be a challenge that was not always satisfied, but I wish to thank the staff of the Library and Archives of Canada for all the photographs they were able to provide, including the large collection of Erling Porsild's own photographs and those of others for the Canadian Reindeer Project. I am grateful to the staff of the Canadian Museum of Nature archives for portraits of individual members of that institution, to George Argus and Kim Madge of the National Herbarium for their digital copies of Porsild's herbarium collection sheets, to the staff of the Canadian Museum of Civilization for those from Diamond Jenness, to Bill Edgar on Grand Manan for putting my 1984 slides of the Canol Road onto computer, and Bill Weber and the Müller-Wille family for providing personal photographs from the Rockies and Arctic excursions in Porsild's later years. I owe a special debt of thanks to the family of the late James Soper whose son Ian searched for and supplied personal photographs of the Raup family in time for publication. Sadly, Dr. Soper signed his name for the last time when he gave his permission for their use by the University of Calgary Press.

The records office at the University of Copenhagen kindly supplied the unusual conditions relating to Erling Porsild's doctoral degree in 1956, and I have received other information by personal correspondence. In fact, over the long years this study has taken me, I have received clippings, articles, advice, information, books, and encouragement from too many people for me ever to

identify by name. Porsild's colleagues, friends, and family have told me stories which I could never have found otherwise. As much as possible, they have been identified in the endnotes if not in the text, but to everyone who has helped me, whether named or unfortunately unnamed, I would like to express my fervent thanks. It is difficult for me to realize that many people whom I would like to acknowledge are no longer with us, people like Dr. Dorothy Swales and Dr. Wally Sackston, with whom I worked at Macdonald College in Ste. Anne de Bellevue, Quebec, also Dr. William Cody in Ottawa and Dr. Marika Ainley and Dr. Carl Heimburger in Victoria. I am forever grateful to botanists Dennis Woodland, John Bain, Kathy Pryer and Marcia Waterway who taught me so much in turn about our Canadian flora during the Macdonald years. In the course of doing the Porsild research, I have Mrs. Helen Risager of Greenland to thank for my introduction to the youngest Porsild son, Sten Porsild of Copenhagen, Denmark, who was extremely kind and helpful in an interview over the telephone. In Ottawa, it was a privilege to be able to interview Hilda Harkness about her Herbarium memories and Trevor Lloyd about the Greenland years, and most recently Diana Rowley gave me some contributions from the Arctic Circle years which I was delighted to receive.

On a personal level, I would like to thank Bill Edgar and David Parker for steering me through many computer problems and panics, and Mary Marsh for giving me a roof over my head during one of my research winters in Ottawa. I would be remiss if I also did not mention with gratitude the love and support of my family and the loyal backing of so many of my friends, with special thanks to Joanne and John Dathan, Debbie Armstrong and Tony Dathan, Elizabeth Parnis, George McKiel, Helga and Wally Seifert, Erleen Christensen, Anneke Gichuru, Joan Marshall, Judy Isherwood, Elizabeth Schenk, Fred and Leda Arsenberg, and Beverley Parker. I am enormously grateful to everyone for what they have managed to summon of their patience, tolerance, and understanding over all the years that I have been working on Erling Porsild's life story.

Above all, my greatest thanks are due to the Müller-Wille family of St. Lambert, Québec, and Bill Weber of Boulder, Colorado, who have done so much to assist me in the research, writing, and editing of the biography. Since they knew Erling Porsild both personally and professionally, in a sense they have been his and my extended family throughout the whole experience of re-creating a person I had never met. Ludger Müller-Wille carefully guided me through my thesis on the reindeer years and has continued to look patiently for solutions for my long-distance worries and problems ever since, while Linna

Weber Müller-Wille (who generously took on the long and difficult task of doing the index) and Bill Weber went through my penultimate manuscript with a fine eye for every mistake that could be found, of whatever size or significance, and returned it to me with such assurance that it was an important and necessary document that I cannot begin to list the extent of their encouragement and assistance or thank them all enough for what they have done.

Finally, I would like to express my sincere thanks to William Barr of the Arctic Institute of North America, whose generous and heartening approval of one of the last versions of my manuscript gave me the strength and courage to finish everything needed to prepare the biography for submission, to Judy Powell of the University of Calgary Press who kindly and promptly advised me of every move made to advance the process, to the Board of the University of Calgary Press who unanimously voted to take *The Reindeer Botanist* to the final publication step, to Press editor John King for his meticulous corrections and invaluable comments in the process of turning the manuscript into a book, and to all who have worked to ensure its completion and success.



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Abbreviations:

AEP	Alf Erling Porsild
AINA	Arctic Institute of North America
IBC	International Botanical Congress
NHC	National Herbarium of Canada
NMC	National Museum of Canada
RTP	Robert Thorbjørn Porsild
MPP	Morten Pedersen Porsild

Two-letter abbreviations are used for U.S. states and Canadian provinces, e.g., “NT” = “Northwest Territories.”

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“Every era and field has its heroes. Dr. A. E. Porsild is one of them for Canadian Arctic Botany. Porsild is one of the unforgettable Canadian pioneers of science whose exciting life story, now fully revealed, will serve as a great example for younger generations of dedicated enthusiasts of all fields.”

DR. JOSEF SVOBODA, PROFESSOR EMERITUS,
DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



One of Canada's most remarkable botanists, Alf Erling Porsild (1901–1977) grew up on the Arctic Station in West Greenland, where he later served as Vice/Acting Canadian Consul (1940–43). For nearly twenty years, he studied reindeer activities in Alaska and the Northwest Territories as part of a Canadian project designed to encourage grazing animal husbandry among aboriginal peoples. As Curator of Botany at the National Museum of Canada, he collected thousands of specimens, greatly enlarging the National Herbarium and making it a superb research centre. Porsild's meticulous work and observations have particular relevance today with the growing concern over global warming in the Arctic.

This long-awaited biography traces the challenging and adventurous career of an unusual, little-known scientist who battled rivalry, bureaucracy, personal disappointment, and private tragedy. In the end, he earned universal respect for his prodigious publications and intimate knowledge of the people, plants, and land around Canada's Arctic Circle. His story gives the first full account of the Canadian Reindeer Project and Canada's Consulate in wartime Greenland and describes the exploration and mapping of the Canadian flora and growth of the National Herbarium from about 1920 to Porsild's retirement in 1967.



WENDY DATHAN studied botany at McGill University and eventually worked as Assistant/Acting Curator at the McGill Herbarium and thereafter began her research on Porsild for her master's thesis on his Canadian Reindeer Project years. She is the author of two books on her travels and on her experiences living on Grand Manan, New Brunswick, where she is Curator of the Grand Manan Museum and an enthusiastic naturalist.



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